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cultural labor is within the competence of the International Labor Organization, and there is certainly nothing in the preparatory work to disturb this conclusion.

For these reasons the court is of opinion that the competence of the International Labor Organization does extend to international regulation of the conditions of labor of persons employed in agriculture, and therefore answers in the affirmative the question referred to it.

Done in English and French, the English text being authoritative, at the Peace Palace, The Hague, this twelfth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, in two copies, one of which is to be placed in the archives of the court and the other to be forwarded to the Council of the League of Nations.

[L. S.]

— — —,
President.

— — —,
Registrar.

M. Beichmann, Deputy Judge, took part in the deliberations of the court concerning the present opinion, but was compelled to leave for Norway before the terms of the opinion were finally settled.

M. Weiss, Vice-President of the court, and M. Negulesco, Deputy Judge, availing themselves of the right accorded them under Article 71 of the Rules of Court, declare that they are unable to concur in the opinion given by the court.

THE TWENTY-SECOND INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

July 25-29, 1922

NOTES BY THE EDITOR

THE TWENTY-SECOND International Peace Congress, held in London, July 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, attended by about 500 delegates, was opened in the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London. Mr. Fisher, the Minister for Education, brought a message from the King expressing the earnest hope that the efforts of the pacifists in the cause of universal peace will meet with all success. The Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd-George, sent his regrets that he was prevented by the urgent pressure of business from being present. Mr. Fisher addressed the Congress. He stated that the chief aim of British policy had been for centuries and would be, he hoped, for many centuries to come the maintenance of international peace. "Great Britain has everything to lose and it has nothing to gain from war." He pointed out that Britain, having created a military instrument comparable in size and equal in every point of technical equipment and proficiency to the most formidable army of the continent, then "deliberately broke that instrument to pieces when its object had been accomplished and reverted to the old civilian traditions of our race." He went on to say that when the course of British diplomacy during the momentous years succeeding the war comes to be examined by the impartial eye of history, he thought it would be found that British influence had been consistently employed on the side of moderation. It was not in the interests of civilization that the world should be divided into two camps. It is the desire of the British Government, he stated, that Germany should

apply for admission to the League of Nations this year. The continent of Europe now realizes that a modern war upon a great scale brings famine, pestilence, and revolution; that it involves grinding taxations for victors and vanquished alike; that it leads to dislocation of trade, to serious unemployment, to widespread social distress. It produces a perceptible decline in the standard of human behavior, offsetting the moral sublimity exhibited during the crucial period of sacrifice. The populations of the world are sick of war. They have lost their illusions concerning it. But even if this were not so, none of us could afford to embark upon serious preparations for a new conflict. There is no more powerful missionary for peace than the tax-collector. We have reached a breathing space. We have peace, but it is a peace of lassitude rather than a peace of repentance. The world is in a state of restless and short-tempered exhaustion. Physical disarmament has been imposed upon the vanquished, but how far have we advanced along the path of moral disarmament? Not many miles. There is a good deal of trouble all over Europe and in the East as well, and it is high time that some real progress were made along the path of international good-will.

Other points advanced by Mr. Fisher might be briefly summarized: The greatest of all present dangers is the spirit of fanatical nationalism. It is present in Ireland, in Anatolia, in Egypt; it is a growing menace to the peace of Asia. We must compose these fanatical and extreme forms of political creed by temperate and moderate opinion. Another problem which may well engage the attention of the Conference is the widespread increase of scientific interest in the latest developments of the art of war. If war has become more terrible, it has also gained in intellectual fascination. To posterity the attraction of those awful regions of science which are consecrated to the manufacture of torture and death would become very great.

Great armaments lead to war. We have before us an opportunity which may never recur of so relieving the world of the crushing burden of armaments that another war on a large scale will become, at least for a generation, an impossibility. There are difficulties, but difficulties are made to be overcome; the present economic position of the world is so favorable to limitation of armaments that we have no reason to be discouraged.

He confessed that he is in doubt as to how far measures devised to make war less horrible are calculated to make it less probable. Poison gas is a hateful innovation. He would gladly see it superseded. But the elimination of chemical warfare would probably not affect the course of public policy. He wished that the submarine might be abandoned by public consent. He went on to point out that civilized nations should proscribe the revolver.

Interestingly enough, the newspapers covering this address seemed to consider that the most important thing in Mr. Fisher's address was his suggestion that the revolver be done away with.

Speakers following Mr. Fisher were: the Bishop of London, Monsignore Grosch, Rev. G. Nightingale, president of the Nonconformist churches, a rabbi, and Senator La Fontaine of Belgium.

Senator La Fontaine accused the leading men of Eu-

rope with lacking a vision of the future, no one of whom seems to know where the great road of progress lies. If he does, he lacks the courage to follow it. Senator La Fontaine's view of reparations is that this is not a German debt alone, but that of the whole world. He believes that the whole world should make sacrifices to restore the ruined countries. He alluded to the enormous financial burdens weighing upon his own country, and to the fact that both France and Belgium, the greatest sufferers from the war, are obliged to maintain far greater armies than before the war in order to live in security. He advocated universal free trade and international armies and navies to preserve the world's peace.

The main work of the Conference was divided into four parts, each presided over by a commission. The commissions were: (1) On the economic restoration of Europe; (2) on the League of Nations; (3) on the control of foreign affairs through parliaments; (4) on actualities. These four commissions examined the various proposals laid before them by the peace societies and brought their recommendations before the Conference in four plenary meetings, which were held on Thursday and Friday in Central Hall, Westminster. At the opening of the plenary meeting on the 28th, Lord Robert Cecil spoke. He urged that the main task of the pacifists ought to be to increase the authority of the League of Nations, which is not yet adequate to deal with all the important questions of the day, and to act as substitute for the deficient governments.

Speaking of Germany, he said that there is no act which the German State could take which would be more indicative of its will to peace than to apply for membership in the League of Nations. He went on to say that the activity of the League of Nations in the interest of disarmament has been very effective; that real steps have been taken toward a solution of this difficult problem. He did grant, however, that a real solution of the armament question will not be reached until the League of Nations has convinced the peoples of the world that it is safe to disarm.

The festivities of the Congress were limited. There was, however, a reception and garden party offered to the members of the Congress by Sir Arthur Crosfield, B. K. T., and Lady Crosfield, in their attractive residence. There was also a 5 o'clock tea at Central Hall, where Lord and Lady Parmour received their guests Thursday, July 27. A number of special luncheons and receptions were arranged for various groups. Wednesday, July 26, at 1 o'clock, Dean Inge, of St. Paul's addressed the Congress at the cathedral. With the consent of the Dean, the ADVOCATE OF PEACE was able to print the Dean's address in the August number. Saturday, the 29th, witnessed peace manifestations in the afternoon at Hyde Park.

The American Peace Society was represented by Messrs. Theodore Stanfield, Baron Sergius Korff, and the Secretary.

The resolutions drafted by the four commissions formed the basis of discussions in the plenary sessions. Some were slightly amended, but most of them were adopted unanimously.

The resolutions adopted by the Conference follow:

Resolutions

FIRST COMMISSION: "THE ECONOMIC RESTORATION OF EUROPE"

CHAIRMAN, SIR GEORGE PAISH

The Economic Restoration of Europe

The economic restoration of Europe will be impossible until the nations are prepared to apply the principle of right which they acclaimed during the war to the solution of international problems.

The economic restoration of Europe will be impossible until the economic unity of the world is recognized in action by peoples, parliaments, and statesmen.

The economic restoration of Europe will be impossible until political action is no longer opposed to both moral and economic law.

The economic restoration of Europe will continue to be impossible until the peace treaties are brought into harmony with the spirit of the fourteen points enunciated by Mr. Wilson and with the terms of the Armistice, and until the principle of right is applied impartially to the victors as well as to the vanquished.

The economic restoration of Europe demands the following measures:

(1) Reduction of the reparation payments to a sum which will repair the material damage of the war, and which the German people can be reasonably expected to pay willingly.

(2) Withdrawal of the armies of occupation from the Rhine and the stoppage of the heavy expenses for their maintenance.

(3) Restoration of the Saar Valley to Germany as soon as the mines of France are restored.

(4) Abolition of all measures of restriction upon international trade.

(5) Mutual cancellation of interallied debts.

(6) Abolition of armaments by general agreement, in order to bring conviction that peace will not again be broken and to avert national bankruptcy.

(7) Completion of the League of Nations, in order that international questions may be decided in an atmosphere of good-will and of impartiality and that common action may be taken for the common good.

(8) Creation of an international loan to enable the work of restoring Europe to be completed with the least possible delay.

(9) Revision by the League of Nations of all the peace treaties in accordance with the terms of the Armistice and with the fourteen points defined by Mr. Wilson.

(10) Recognition by other nations of the right of the Russian people to govern themselves in their own way on the one hand, and recognition by the Russian people of their pre-war obligations.

(11) The grant of sufficient financial assistance to the Russian people to enable them to repair the injury they have suffered from the war and from all that has happened since the war.

Resolutions

SECOND COMMISSION: "THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS"

CHAIRMAN, SENATOR H. LA FONTAINE

Commission of the League of Nations

1. Considering that it is advisable to give to the preamble of the Covenant a further development, which will deter-

mine in a more definite way the rights and duties of nations; confirming the declaration drawn up by the Executive Committee of the International Union of Peace Societies forwarded to the Peace Conference, the Twenty-second International Peace Congress considers that war should be solemnly prescribed—that is to say, the recourse by any power whatever to the use of force; invites the Assembly of the League of Nations, at its forthcoming session, to modify the second paragraph of the preamble of the Covenant of Nations in the following manner:

There must be no more war, and it is a crime to have any recourse to force which is not ordered and controlled by the League of Nations.

2. Considering that the first paragraph of the said preamble only refers to the co-operation between nations as desirable, without indicating how it should be realized, the International Peace Congress invites the Assembly of the Society of Nations to add to the aforesaid preamble the following declaration: "To consider that it is an important duty for all nations to collaborate in all branches of human activity in order to bring about a good understanding between nations, and to thus secure the general welfare of humanity."

3. Instead of paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article I, read: "All sovereign States have the right to be members of the League of Nations."

4. Add to the first paragraph of Article III the following words: "These will be appointed as far as possible by the most democratic method."

5. It is advisable that a representative body should be added to the Assembly of Delegates.

6. Add the following words to paragraph 4 of Article IV: "The Council presents a report each year to the Assembly showing what has been done."

7. Modify paragraph 1 of Article IV in the following manner: "If there is nothing to the contrary, a two-third majority will be sufficient, provided that the members who are in the majority represent half the total population of the States included in the League."

8. The International Peace Congress considers that it is advisable to agree with the provisions of Article XXXVI of the original scheme of the International Court of Justice—that is to say, that each State may compel a State to go before the International Court of Justice when an agreement has not been come to between the States to fulfil the sentence given by the Court of Arbitration, or to accept the decision of the Council.

9. That this Congress, regarding the inclusion of the German Republic in the League of Nations as essential to the welfare of the world, notes with satisfaction the statement made by the Right Honorable H. L. Fisher, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, at the opening session of the Congress, that the British Government is desirous that Germany should apply for admission this year, and expresses the earnest hope that a successful application will be made at the next Assembly, so that Germany may take her proper place in the League of Nations as one of the permanent members of the Council of the League.

10. The International Peace Congress has heard with the greatest satisfaction that, in accordance with Articles XXIII and XXIV of the Covenant, a Commission has been formed in order to develop intellectual labor. It trusts that the different institutions of an international character which

are studying this same problem will be enabled to co-ordinate their efforts with the aid of the new technical organization of the League of Nations.

Resolutions

THIRD COMMISSION: "THE CONTROL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS THROUGH PARLIAMENTS"

CHAIRMAN, MRS. SWANWICK

Resolution on Democratic Control of Foreign Affairs

(Report of M. le Foyer)

In view of the disasters to which the methods of secret diplomacy have led; the alliances, the objects, conditions, and scope of which are not officially published; the treaties concluded without the advice and consent of parliaments and public opinion, . . . and recalling the fundamental principle of modern public right, that sovereignty rests on the people, the Congress declares:

That every nation shall direct the conduct of its foreign policy as of its domestic affairs, and that the right of a people to decide its own destiny is all the greater when it is confronted with grave conditions in which its vital interests, its future, and even its life may be at stake.

Therefore the Congress holds that the foreign policy of all States should be democratic—that is to say, that it should not be secret, but public, and should rest upon the principle of free inquiry and discussion, and also upon the collaboration of expert officials, disinterested specialists, and public opinion.

The government shall at no time refuse or delay furnishing parliament with information and documents concerning its foreign policy; treaties, whether of alliance or of peace, or other, shall not become applicable until they have received the express ratification of parliament, after open discussion, or of the people by means of the referendum.

In case of external difficulties imperiling peace, parliament shall be immediately convoked at the request of a certain number of members.

In order to carry out these principles, Congress demands a change in the spirit of the diplomatic service and the methods by which it is recruited; invites parliaments to realize fully their responsibilities and readjust their parliamentary machinery so as to bring about the democratization of the diplomatic service by the admission of all classes and both sexes. Finally, it urges that public opinion should be vigilant, and should demand the publication of honest news by the press.

The Congress recommends that the nations call an international conference for the purpose of agreeing upon changes necessary in the present practices and principles that govern the conduct of foreign affairs, to secure their control by the people and parliaments.

Addendum

The Congress considers as a considerable progress the fact that all international treaties must be registered and made public by the League of Nations.

FOURTH COMMISSION: "ACTUALITIES"

CHAIRMAN, MADAME SWANWICK

Rights of Minorities

Believing that respect for the rights of minorities is one of the most essential conditions for the reconciliation of

peoples and the consolidation of peace; and taking into consideration the fact that certain States have, in order to guarantee the rights of minorities, concluded a series of special treaties, which have been placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations, this Congress expresses the wish that, in order to make that guarantee more effective, the League of Nations should take such steps as may be necessary to give to minorities the right and the opportunity of direct appeal to some international tribunal when they claim that they are suffering under serious disabilities for which they cannot obtain redress. The Congress suggests that the League of Nations should appoint a permanent commission to deal with such questions.

That the Council of the Berne Bureau be asked to put on the agenda for the next International Peace Congress the question of the relations of the white and colored races.

The Congress, having considered the precarious situation of the Macedonian refugees in Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania, and Turkey, asks for guarantees that these unhappy people may be returned to their homes under the protection of the League of Nations.

Disarmament

1. This Congress declares its belief in the policy of complete disarmament by land, sea, and air as an indispensable guarantee of world peace, and pledges itself to advocate this policy in every country represented.

2. The Congress maintains that this could be accomplished as follows: (1) The establishment of a real and complete peace by ending the war in the East; (2) the inclusion of Russia in the comity of peoples; (3) the education of the people in the aims and ideals formulated by the Congress; (4) by assuring the integrity of all disarmed States against enemy aggression by a united guarantee of all nations.

The Congress welcomes with enthusiasm the endeavors of the Washington Conference and sees in it the first really serious and important step toward universal disarmament.

The Congress is convinced that, continuing the endeavors of the Washington Conference, absolute disarmament can only be reached by including all nations and by bringing disarmament within the scope of a League of Nations.

3. The Congress congratulates President Harding, Mr. Hughes, and the American people on their splendid initiative in calling the Conference of Washington. The Congress hopes that this historic event may be but the first step on the road which will lead to the abolishment of the menace and danger which the existence of national armies constitutes.

4. The Congress invites the League of Nations to place on its program the subject of the universal suppression of obligatory military service, constituting as it does a menace to the peace of the world, besides being a heavy burden on the budgets of States.

Self-determination of Peoples

The right of self-determination of peoples should be definitely stated in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and should be defined in such a way as to include the right to unite as well as to separate, after a plebiscite under the control of the League of Nations.

In view of representations made by delegates from Egypt, south Galicia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, this Congress expresses an earnest desire that the principle of self-deter-

mination may be put into effect as soon as possible, with regard to countries whose political status is at present undetermined or contested.

Further, this Congress wishes to place on record its belief that recognition of the right of self-determination, though a necessary step toward a peaceful world settlement, will not of itself bring peace unless the enfranchised peoples adopt a policy of free and friendly association with their neighbors; and the Congress therefore calls on pacifists, everywhere and always, to link these two ideals together in their work and propaganda.

THE QUAKERS' CALL TO THE CHURCHES

From the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, with the endorsement of the London Yearly Meeting, has gone out "To the churches of Christ in all countries" a fervent appeal for outright pacifism, an appeal to "Christendom for a warless world."

Addressing in eloquent terms "the fellow-Christians and sister churches in all lands" and speaking of themselves as a small fraction of the Christian Church, the Quakers' appeal includes these passages:

Christianity seems to us to face a grave crisis and a divine duty. In this aftermath of history's most terrible war, we see two paths before us. One leads inevitably to another war by renewed preparedness of the most efficient military, economic, educational, and religious means of waging it. The other begins with a complete rejection of war, and of all preparations for it, for any purpose and against any people; it demands definite organization for peace.

These two paths lie in opposite directions; we cannot possibly follow them both. There is no shadow of doubt on which of them are found the footprints and the sign-posts of Jesus Christ our Lord. Christ would not send His disciples where He Himself does not lead. "Follow me" has been forever His watchword. Shall not, then, the Christian Church follow its Leader with perfect loyalty along this path?

Such loyalty to Christ is consistent with loyalty to one's native land. The higher loyalty includes the lower, and gives to it all its best and brightest substance. The Christian's love of country finds its source, its inspiration, and its direction in his love of God and his fellow-men. Christ taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; His church transcends all divisions of nationality, all prejudices and hatreds of nation for nation and of class for class. It must rise to the height of its divinely given mission. It must not depend on the leadership of generals or admirals, or financiers, nor await the changing policies of statecraft. In time of war, as in time of peace, it must keep its eye single to God's commands, and must draw constantly its Founder's immortal and stupendous contrast between that which is Cæsar's and that which is God's.

As Christians, we are striving for "a warless world." We are firmly convinced that this can be achieved only by refusal to participate in war, simply and sufficiently because war is by its very nature at variance with the message, the spirit, and the life and death of Jesus Christ. We unite in supporting treaties of arbitration and conciliation, limitation and reduction of armaments, international courts of justice, a league or association of nations for the preservation of peace. This is well; it is a great achievement for statesmen to accomplish these things; but it is not sufficient for the Christian Church.

A principle is greater than any or all of its applications. The fundamental peace principle of Christianity demands the utter rejection of war, unequivocally and without compromise. With this principle in its charter, the Christian Church can always utter a clear and unmistakable verdict on any specific measure of statesmanship that is proposed;